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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*warawaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *ouo'o* palm. Another fruit called *lawaz*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kauu'u* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *alok* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fi/i'a and *tawai*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawai* bought was a cooperative venture.

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796 but continued at the same pace for about three weeks, and then slowly died
243 down. It would be impossible to say on what day the *ole* ceremony ended.

When the *ole* cycle began it consisted of little except songs and dances. These were usually held shortly before daybreak and at night. About a week afterwards decorated posts were erected in the village center. These "*ole* posts" served as "shrines" to which food offerings were made. In the meantime, dancing and singing went on almost every day. On some days two or three *ole* songs and dances were performed; on others there was little activity.

The intensity of the ritual varied with the number of people in the village and according to whim. The participants changed from day to day, and some took part more often than others. Only certain men knew the songs and dances, and they served as leaders. Other men occasionally joined in and performed an accompanying role, while the women followed the dancers and served as a chorus. The usual procedure was for the men to sing and dance their way from the nearby forest into the plaza, where they were joined by the female chorus. They then made the rounds of all the houses, pausing to sing at each.

[424] [523] Only Matiwana and Nitvary served as leaders of the dance processions, as they had inherited the necessary songs. Makurawa also knew *ole* songs, but his role was always secondary. Nitvary, due to his youth and vigor, was the principal dance leader. Most of the other adult men did not participate in the dances and seemed bored by the activity at times. There was no rule governing female participation in the dance. One of the men initiated the performance without consulting the other men, and the women flocked from their houses of their own will to join the procession, falling in behind the older boys. Quain thought this reflected well the respective roles of the men and women in Trumaí culture. Children always followed in the rear and cried out at the beginning and end of each major sequence in the performance.

[857] [424] [533] There were also *ole* songs for solo performance without choral accompaniment, which were not considered to be the special property of any one man. The soloist made the rounds of all the houses, stopping at each to perform a song and a simple dance. Even the women sang
796 certain *ole* songs, and on one occasion Quain observed two women
243 making the customary rounds together without male accompaniment.
533 Quain mentioned one song as being quite melodious, and stated that there was greater variation of pitch in songs which were distributed throughout the upper Xingú area. The Trumaí had borrowed songs
[179] heavily from their neighbors, and, in fact, had probably borrowed the whole ceremony. Kamayurá verses were most frequently heard, but there was also a significant sprinkling of Cariban words.

The chorus that followed Matiwana and Nitvary gave only the sketchiest accompaniment. The women did not seem to know the songs,

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868 867 way the child was taught the kinship terms applying to his immediate family and age mates. He did not, however, learn to classify the whole village until much later.

Pre-Pubescence

593 866 A good deal of a youngster's time was spent around his house, and his attachment to his parents first, and then to other members of his household, was very strong. Dependence on the parent was expressed in a variety of ways. When the motherless Mátsiripi's father, Oirupa, left the village for a few days, the boy was dispirited. When someone approached from the canoe landing, he would run anxiously to see who it was. His joy was obvious as he clung to the hand of his returned father. This pattern was repeated, but with less intensity, by children having both a father and mother.

152 855 Night terrors were common among the children. They were afraid of the dark and, if they awakened in the night, sought immediately for their father or mother, or howled if both were absent. The early pattern of sleeping with a parent undoubtedly had much to do with these fears, but ample justification for them can be found in other aspects of the culture. Adults communicated to the children their own nocturnal anxieties, which were stimulated by fears of enemy attack. The young made [186] frequent references to the Suyá. One little boy, after an especially uneasy night, marched around the village chanting the word "Suyá" in a deep, serious voice. A frightened child's cries were immediately answered by his parents, who recognized it by tone. Tay, an orphan boy, often awakened with loud howls, but the people of his house paid little attention, and listened instead for their own children.

857 The children played and lolled about in the house, and had closer ties with co-residents than with others bearing the same kin relationships. When Kuyafi shifted her hammock to the house of her new spouse, her child cried lustily at the change of residence. The boys frequently visited in other houses, and there were no restrictions on lying in the nearest hammock, no matter to whom it belonged. This liberty was [123] taken by the adults also. To keep visitors out of his hammock, Quain had to tell everyone that his "wife would be angry" if anyone used it. This was the standard excuse for turning down such requests.

867 Children were given considerable freedom. Adults were interested in them, but made little effort to direct their activities. Encouragement was given, but the child was never forced to do anything. There were few "do nots." However, the child learned that he did not have an unlimited claim to all property, and sometimes he was punished for his transgressions. He also learned that he should not disturb older people unduly. The adults had a high tolerance for the noises of children, but

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct. 867 [861]

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused. 858 431

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumai. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange. 858 422

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected. 861 152 [881]

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly. 857

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumai to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them. 868 857

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [569] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [17] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.